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241252Z Apr 00

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ACTION AF-00

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	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	WHA-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
	EB-00	EUR-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	L-00	AC-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5827
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PRIORITY
NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 HARARE 002205

SIPDIS

STATE FOR AF A/S SUSAN RICE, OAS POWELL, AF/S
NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH
LONDON FOR PFLAUMER
PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/23/10

TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [EAGR](#) [PINR](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: THE GUERILLA WAR FOR LAND IN ZIMBABABWE
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CONTINUES

CLASSIFIEO BY AMBASSAOOR TOM MCDONALD, REASONS
1.5 (B), (0)

REF: HARARE 2202

1. (C) SUMMARY: IN A THREE HOUR MEETING NEARLY HALF OF WHICH WAS SPENT ON LANO, PRESIDENT MUGABE TOLD US THAT LANO ACQUISITION WAS AN OVERDUE MATTER OF ACHIEVING JUSTICE AND ESCAPING FROM UNOER THE YOKE OF COLONIALISM THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE NOW OEMANO. THE WAR VET'S OCCUPATIONS, WHICH HE SUPPORTS BUT OI D NOT INITIATE, ARE A DEMONSTRATION OF "PRACTICAL SELF-HELP." WE BELIEVE THAT IN CONDONING THE VET'S ACTIONS HE HAS UNLEASHEO A FORCE THAT IS POWERFUL, DANGEROUS, EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO CONTROL AND A THREAT TO THE PRESIDENT'S IRON GRIP. ZIMBABWE'S GUERILLAS ARE OPERATING AGAIN IN ZIMBABWE. HAVING UNCHAINED SUCH A FORCE, HE NOW NEEDS TO BUY IT OFF, MOST LIKELY WITH LAND HAVING ALREADY EXERCISED THE CASH OPTION, IF HE IS TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER THE REINS OF POWER.

2. (C) THE PRESIDENT IS ADAMANT THAT BRITAIN MUST PAY FOR LAND ACQUISITION AS, ACCORDING TO HIM, THEY COMMITTED TO IT AT LANCASTER HOUSE IN 1980. IF THEY DO NOT PROVIDE FUNDS, COMPULSORY ACQUISITION WITHOUT COMPENSATION WILL GO AHEAD. THE COMMERCIAL FARMERS, WHO RETAIN THE MENTALITY
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OF BRITISH COLONIZERS ACCOROING TO PRESIDENT MUGABE, HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THEY NEED TO OFFER UP AS A GOOD FAITH GESTURE ALL 841 FARMS PREVIOUSLY DESIGNATED BY THE GOZ FOR ACQUISITION. NEITHER THE POLICE NOR MILTTARY WILL BE USED TO EVICT THE FARM INVADERS, ACCOROING TO MUGABE, AS THEY ARE MERELY "FIGHTING FOR JUSTICE." END SUMMARY.

WE HAVE WAITED TOO LONG

3. (C) DURING THE EVENING OF APRIL 22 PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE, UNACCOMPANIED BUT FOR A NOTETAKER, SPENT THREE HOURS PLUS DISCUSSING THE PRIOR DAYS MINI-SUMMIT OF REGIONAL LEADERS AT VICTORIA FALLS, THE CONGO PEACE PROCESS AND ZIMBABWE'S LAND ISSUE WITH U.S. OFFICIALS. THE U.S. GROUP CONSISTED OF S/E HOWARD WOLPE, AMBASSADOR MCDONALD, LT. COL. GADDIS, SPECIAL ADVISOR PRENDERGAST AND ECONOFF NOTETAKER. AFTER THE INITIAL 20 MINUTES SPENT DESCRIBING THE VICTORIA FALLS GATHERING AND PROGRESS MADE THERE ON THE

CONGO ISSUE MUGABE, WITHOUT A PROMPT FROM US,
LAUNCHED INTO A 45-MINUTE HISTORICAL TOUR OF
ZIMBABWE'S LAND ISSUE COVERING THE PRE-RHODES'
DAYS TO THE PRESENT. DETAILED AND FULL OF
MINUTIA (THE PRESIDENT WAS A SCHOOLTEACHER FOR
YEARS BEFORE AND DURING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE),
THE MESSAGE WAS THAT HISTORY SAW THE LAND STOLEN
FROM THE BLACKS WITH CONTROL CONSOLIDATED BY THE
BRITISH WITH VICIOUS DISREGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF
BLACKS, A STATE THAT CONTINUES TODAY WITH ACTIVE
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BRITISH SPONSORSHIP.

BRITAIN TO BLAME

14. (C) DURING THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS A
WEEK WAS SPENT STUCK ON THE LAND COMPENSATION
ISSUE. PRESIDENT CARTER HELPED BREAK THE
DEADLOCK, AND THE RESULT WAS A 10-YEAR PERIOD
WHEN THE PROSCRIBED RULE OF WILLING SELLER-
WILLING BUYER WAS IN EFFECT, WITH BRITAIN
SUPPOSED TO BE PAYING FOR THE LAND. THE PROBLEM
IS THE ENGLISH NEVER HONORED THEIR OBLIGATIONS,
MUGABE TOLD US: THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT WAS
LUKEWARM; JOHN MAJOR'S ADMINISTRATION WAS COLD;
AND BLAIR'S LABOR LEADERSHIP OUTRIGHT ICY. THE
ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENT LAMENTED TO US THAT THE
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR HAD NEVER SPENT
QUALITY ONE-ON-ONE TIME WITH HIM (HAVING STIFFED
MUGABE ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT AFTER INVITING HIM),
AND COULD ONLY SPARE THE SENIOR AFRICAN STATESMAN
10-15 MINUTES ONCE ON A PRODUCTION LINE BASIS
DURING A EUROPE/AFRICA SUMMIT. "I HAVE SPENT
MORE TIME WITH CLINTON" HE SNIFFED, "AND HAVE

EVEN MET WITH CHIRAC FOUR TIMES -- THOUGH HIS
TIME IN OFFICE IS LESS THAN BLAIR'S." THE LONG

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	EB-00	EUR-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-01	H-01	TEDE-00
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P 241252Z APR 00
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5828
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 HARARE 002205

SIPDIS

STATE FOR AF A/S SUSAN RICE, OAS POWELL, AF/S
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AND SHORT OF IT, PRESIDENT MUGABE ADVISED US, IS
HIS CONCLUSION THAT BRITAIN HAS NEVER SUPPORTED
ZIMBABWE'S EFFORTS AT INDEPENDENCE AND LAND
REFORM, STILL VIEWS HIS COUNTRY A COLONY, AND
WILL ONLY HONOR ITS OBLIGATIONS TO PAY FOR LAND
IN ZIMBABWE IF FORCED. "THIS IS WHAT WE ARE NOW
CARRYING OUT," HE TOLD US, "WITH THE
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT I SIGNED LAST WEEK."

15. (C) ZIMBABWE HAS NO MONEY TO PAY FOR LAND,
MUGABE TOLD US. BRITAIN DOES HAVE THE MONEY, AND
IS REQUIRED TO PAY BY BOTH ITS PROMISE TO, AND
THE FACT THAT ITS CITIZENS STOLE THE LAND FROM
AFRICANS. THE LAND ACQUISITION CLAUSE WAS PLACED
IN THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION TO ENABLE THE
COMMERCIAL FARMERS "TO GET PAID SOMETHING FOR

THEIR LAND", HE EXPLAINED. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE LINE MUGABE TOOK LAST WEEK IN HIS MEETING THE CFU, WHERE HE LECTURED THEM THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLAUSE WAS IN THEIR BEST INTERESTS AND REMONSTRATING THEM FOR FIGHTING SO ACTIVELY AGAINST IT. END COMMENT.) THE CONSTITUTION WAS REJECTED BECAUSE THE FARMERS ORGANIZED THEIR LABOR TO VOTE NO, IN EFFECT CONSPIRING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, HE TOLD US, AND BECAUSE THE PARTY DID NOT CAMPAIGN ENOUGH FOR IT. THE WAR VETS REACTED TO THE REFERENDUM VOTE BY SPRINGING INTO ACTION IN A "SELF-HELP MODE", MUGABE STATED, "AND WE WANTED IT TO BE A DEMONSTRATION MARK ON THE

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MINDS OF THE FARMER'S AND THE BRITS."

16. (C) "THE WAR VETS ARE PROTESTORS," HE CONTINUED "AND WHILE THE BRITS VIEW IT AS A VIOLATION OF THE RULE OF LAW I WILL NEVER SEND IN THE ARMY AND POLICE AGAINST OUR OWN PEOPLE." "IT WOULD CAUSE MORE BLOODSHED AND REMEMBER THAT THERE ARE STILL PLENTY OF WAR VETERANS IN THE ARMY, THOUGH FEWER IN THE POLICE," HE STATED WHILE LOOKING AT US OVER HIS EYEGLASSES. THE PRESIDENT ALSO REITERATED THE DILEMMA CONFRONTING THE GOZ WERE IT TO TRY TO ENFORCE THE COURT'S ORDER TO EVICT THE INVADERS. HIS ARGUMENTS WERE THE SAME AS THOSE LAID OUT BY HIS FOREIGN MINISTER TO US EARLIER IN THE DAY (IN ESSENCE THE POLICE'S LACK OF CAPACITY TO ACT AND THE EXECUTIVE NON-INTERFERENCE RULING, SEE REF A).

WE PUSH BACK

17. (C) WHEN AMBASSADOR MCDONALD RAISED A NUMBER OF POINTS REGARDING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDING THE VIOLENCE OCCURRING ON THE FARMS, DISREGARD OF THE RULE OF LAW, THE USG'S COMMITMENT AND ASSISTANCE FOR LAND REFORM AND THE NEED FOR A PRACTICAL SOLUTION, PRESIDENT MUGABE RESPONDED WITH SOME OF HIS TRADEMARK EMOTION AND POINTED RHETORIC. SOME OF THE POINTS AND COUNTERPOINTS ARE (U.S. AND ZIMBABWE RESPECTIVELY):

WE NEED TO RETURN TO THE PRINCIPALS OF THE

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1998 LAND REFORM CONFERENCE. RESPONSE: THE COMMERCIAL FARMERS UNION (CFU) OPPOSED THE 841 DESIGNATED FARM LIST, AND WITH BRITAIN'S HELP STYMIED IMPLEMENTATION.

THE WORLD BANK AND OTHERS CAN FUND SOME LAND ACQUISITION. RESPONSE: WE WILL NOT GO AHEAD ANY MORE ON FAITH. FOR 20 YEARS WE HAVE DONE THIS AND THE LAND ISSUE WILL NOT BE SOLVED UNTIL BRITAIN GIVES US THE MONEY TO BUY IT. THE PEOPLE WILL SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS.

WE NEED A PRACTICAL SOLUTION. THERE ARE 800 - 1000 FARMS BEING VOLUNTARILY OFFERED FOR SALE. RESPONSE: THE WAR VETS HAVE ALREADY COME UP WITH A PRACTICAL SOLUTION. THEY ARE ON THE FARMS AND WE HAVE A LAW THAT WILL ALLOW US TO MOVE AHEAD ON ACQUIRING THE FARMS WE NEED.

WHAT OF THE DAMAGE TO ZIMBABWE'S IMAGE AS A WONDERFUL COUNTRY, NOT CHARACTERIZED BY VIOLENCE OR STANDOFFS? THE COUNTRY HAS SUFFERED A BLACK EYE. RESPONSE: ZIMBABWE HAS ONLY BEEN WONDERFUL FOR THE WHITE COLONIZERS NOT THE BLACKS. THAT HAS NOT CHANGED FOR 20 YEARS SINCE INDEPENDENCE BUT WILL NOW. MORE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN SOUTH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 HARARE 002205

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AFRICA ON THE LAND ISSUE WITH A LOT LESS
PUBLICITY. BRITAIN IS TO BLAME, WE ARE NO LONGER
THEIR COLONY. BRITISH MP'S ARE ABSENTEE OWNERS
OF FARMS, THEY SEEK TO PROTECT TOO. FINALLY WE
HAVE THE BRITS ATTENTION.

WHAT OF THE 841 FARMS THAT YOU HAVE DEMANDED
FROM THE CFU? WHAT OF THE PROPERTIES THE
GOVERNMENT ALREADY OWNS THAT ARE NOT UTILIZED?
RESPONSE: THEY WILL SAY NO AT FIRST (THE CFU),
BUT ON THAT THEY MUST AGREE. WE NEED THOSE 841
FARMS BECAUSE OF THEIR LOCATION. THEY ARE NEXT
TO THE COMMUNAL AREAS, THE ONES WE OWN ARE NOT.
IN WRITING WE HAVE ASSURED THE CFU THAT THE
DISPLACED COMMERCIAL FARMERS CAN BUY A
REPLACEMENT PROPERTY. WE WILL NOT DEVIATE FROM
THE PLAN.

WHAT OF THE MONEY FOR LAND IN THIS YEAR'S
BUDGET STILL UNSPENT? RESPONSE: WE WILL NEVER
USE OUR MONEY FOR LAND - JUST DEVELOPMENT. THE
BRITS WILL PAY OR THERE WILL BE NO PAYMENT.
THOSE TAKING ACTIONS AGAINST US TODAY HAVE NEVER
SUPPORTED US SINCE 1980, LIKE THE BRITS AND THE
WHITE FARMERS. I AM CALLED HITLER IN THE BRITISH
PRESS. THEY NEVER CALLED IAN SMITH A HITLER.
THEY DO THIS BECAUSE THEY WANT TO KEEP US A
COLONY.

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- WHAT ABOUT YOU MAKING A STATEMENT IN THE
SPIRIT OF VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA'S -- TO WITHDRAW?
RESPONSE: I DID NOT SEE THAT STATEMENT AND HAVE
ONLY HEARD OF IT. HE DENIES TO ME THAT HE MADE
IT.

WHAT ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF THE INVASION OF THE
ECONOMY? THIS IS THE HARVEST SEASON FOR TOBACCO.
RESPONSE: THE TIME HAS COME AFTER 20 YEARS. WE
WILL RESOLVE IT NOW. IF THE CFU FARMERS WANT TO
LEAVE THEY SHOULD GO NOW. THEY ARE EMBITTERED
OLD RHOADIES WHO HAVE NEVER REPENTED, SADDENED
THAT THEY HAVE LOST THEIR POWER SINCE
INDEPENDENCE. THEY ARE SABOTAGING THE ECONOMY,
HAVING BEEN RAISED AND LIVED IN THE DAYS OF
DISHONESTY AS SANCTIONS BUSTERS. THEY ARE THE
WEALTHIEST CLASS BUT PAY THE LEAST TAXES.

BUT WHAT OF THE MORAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST WHAT
IS OCCURRING? YOU ARE THE HEAD OF STATE AND THE
MORAL LEADER OF THE COUNTRY. IF YOU CAME OUT
STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF THE RULE OF LAW AND TOLD THE
WAR VETS TO LEAVE THE FARM, MOST WOULD.
RESPONSE: THE AMOUNT OF VIOLENCE IS EXAGGERATED
BY THE BBC AND CNN. TWO DAYS AGO CNN STAGED AN
EVICTION OF THE WAR VETS. BECAUSE WE DO NOT HAVE
THE MEDIA ON OUR SIDE DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE
NOT RIGHT OR JUST. I WILL NOT SEND THE POLICE OR
ARMY AGAINST PEOPLE WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR JUSTICE.

COMMENT

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18. (C) MUGABE DISPLAYED LUCIDITY AND A
REMARKABLE MEMORY AND RECALL THROUGHOUT THE
CONVERSATION. HIS MOOD AND EMOTION SWINGS
MATCHED THE RHETORIC AND WHEN WE RETURNED TO
CONGO MATTERS AFTER THE LAND ISSUE HE WAS A
CHANGE MAN. AMBASSADOR MCOONALO IN A TELEPHONE
CALL BEFORE THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND
DURING THE LONG SESSION THOUGHT THE MOOD WAS

CORDIAL EVEN WHEN THE ISSUES GOT DIFFICULT. WE ARE THE ONLY WESTERN COUNTRY THAT MUGABE HAS MET WITH ON THE TOPIC OF LAND. WE BELIEVE WE WERE HEARD, BUT MUGABE WAS NOT PERSUADED. THE AMBASSADOR PLANS TO CONTINUE HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THE ISSUE.

9. (C) IT IS CLEAR THAT MUGABE IS STILL FIGHTING THE GUERRILLA STRUGGLE HE WON 20 YEARS AGO. HE HAS DRAWN A LINE IN THE SAND AND SAID, "LAND NOW AT ALL COSTS." THE PRESIDENT REALIZES HE IS IN A FIGHT FOR HIS POLITICAL LIFE, A BATTLE HE MUST WIN. UNLEASHING THE WAR VETS IS A DANGEROUS TACTIC, REEKING OF DESPERATION. THEY ARE A PIT BULL LOOSE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND GETTING THEM BACK IN THE CAGE OR ON A STOUT CHAIN WILL REQUIRE OFFERINGS AND THE PROMISE OF REGULAR FEEDINGS.

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ACTION AF-00

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EVENTS IN THE 24 HOURS SINCE OUR MEETING SHOW THAT THE MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE ESPOUSED BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS EARLIER MEETINGS WITH THE FARMERS AND THE VETS HAVE NOT SUNK IN FOR THE LATTER.

10. (C) MUGABE, BY UNLEASHING THE GUERRILLAS, IS PLAYING WITH FIRE. THOUGH SO FAR ONLY THE FARMERS HAVE BEEN BURNED, THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE COUNTRY ARE EXTREMELY NEGATIVE AND THE LEADERSHIP MAY FIND THAT THE COST TO ITSELF IS HIGH. ALL OF THIS DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR THE MEETINGS TO BEGIN IN LONDON ON APRIL 27. IF THIS ATTITUDE AND POSITION CONTINUES, NOTHING WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH THE BRITISH. FOR NOW THE COUNTRY IS IN LULL, AND SEMI-ATTENTIVE DURING THE LONG EASTER HOLIDAY CHARACTERIZED BY CELL PHONES TURNED OFF AND RETREATS INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE. THOUGH PRIVATELY MUGABE MAY OFFER A MORE TEMPERED MESSAGE, THE REALITY ON THE GROUND WITNESSED SO FAR IN NOT ENCOURAGING. END COMMENT.
MCDONALD

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